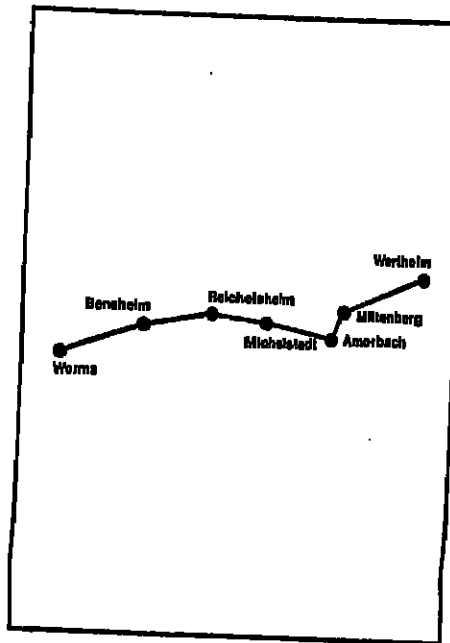


Spiegel



Routes to tour in Germany

The Nibelungen Route



German roads will get you there — to the Odenwald woods, for instance, where events in the Nibelungen saga, the mediaeval German heroic epic, are said to have taken place. Sagas may have little basis in reality, but these woods about 30 miles south of Frankfurt could well have witnessed gaily and tragedy in days gone by. In Worms, on the left bank of the Rhine, people lived 5,000 years ago. From the 5th century AD the kings of Burgundy held court there, going hunting in the Odenwald.

With a little imagination you can feel yourself taken back into the past and its tales and exploits. Drive from Wertheim on the Main via Miltenberg and Amorbach to Michelstadt, with its 15th century half-timbered *Rathaus*. Cross the Rhine after Bensheim and take a look at the 11th to 12th century Romanesque basilica in Worms.

Visit Germany and let the Nibelungen Route be your guide.

- 1 The Hagen Monument in Worms
- 2 Miltenberg
- 3 Odenwald
- 4 Michelstadt
- 5 Wertheim

DZT DEUTSCHE ZENTRALE FÜR TOURISMUS EV
Beethovenstrasse 69, D-6000 Frankfurt/M.



The German Tribune

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Missiles: Washington and Moscow try again

Preparations are under way in Washington and Moscow for the next round of Geneva talks on limiting medium-range missiles in Europe. They, like their predecessors, fail to have results, missile modernisation goes ahead in Western Europe as planned from the end of the year. It will involve 108 Pershing 2s, all in the Federal Republic of Germany, and Cruise missiles, to be stationed in Britain, Belgium, Holland, Germany and Italy.

One can yet say for sure that missile modernisation will definitely have taken place. The Soviet Union may yet agree in Geneva to a compromise with a West German build-up.

Terms negotiated could obviate need to station new missiles in Western Europe, either totally or partly. Bonn is not represented at the Geneva talks. The decisions will be taken in Moscow and Washington. But Western missile modernisation cannot go ahead without Bonn's approval.

West Germans, whichever party is in power in Bonn, have a special interest in ensuring that East and West agree. It is not just a matter of anxiety over domestic controversy that is bound up in connection with any stationing of new nuclear missiles. We are bound to wonder what will be in the wake of missile modernisation by the West: a fresh arms build-up by the Soviet Union, fresh Western calls for military counter-measures? Will the arms race never end?

It is hardly surprising that the Kohl government, again like its predecessors, keen to promote progress at the Geneva talks.

Bonn has certainly made sure of one requisite. Hours after the March general election Chancellor Kohl frankly admitted that the new missiles would be stationed in Germany if the talks broke down.

He not only made this point to election night German TV viewers. He went to make it equally clear to the United States and, during his visit to Moscow last month, to the Soviet Union.

Yet that alone would not be politics if it is taken to mean influencing decisions rather than simply accepting them.

Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher have shown themselves to be up to influence events. Last spring they persuaded President Reagan to abandon his insistence on the zero option.

Instead of insisting on all or nothing, for no Soviet SS-20s in return for no

Western medium-range missiles, the United States mooted an interim solution.

The chief US delegate, Paul Nitze, sounded out terms in the last round of Geneva talks: an equal number of warheads on either side ranging from 50 to 450.

Bonn has recently tried again to influence developments. First Herr Genscher, then Herr Kohl called for reconsideration of the walk in the woods proposal in preparation for the next round of talks, which are due to begin on 6 September.

This proposal was a compromise sounded out by the US and Soviet delegates at Geneva, Paul Nitze and Yuli Kvitsinski, in July 1982.

The West was to abandon plans to station Pershing 2 in Europe and make do with 75 Cruise missile launcher facilities, each with four single-warhead missiles.

In return the East was to make do with 75 SS-20 systems, with three warheads each, aimed at targets in Western Europe, while the number of medium-range missiles in Asia was to be frozen.

The walk in the woods proposal was rejected first by Moscow, then by Washington. But it was not shelved once and for all.

In January it was aired in public by Gene Rostow, who was sacked by President Reagan as head of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

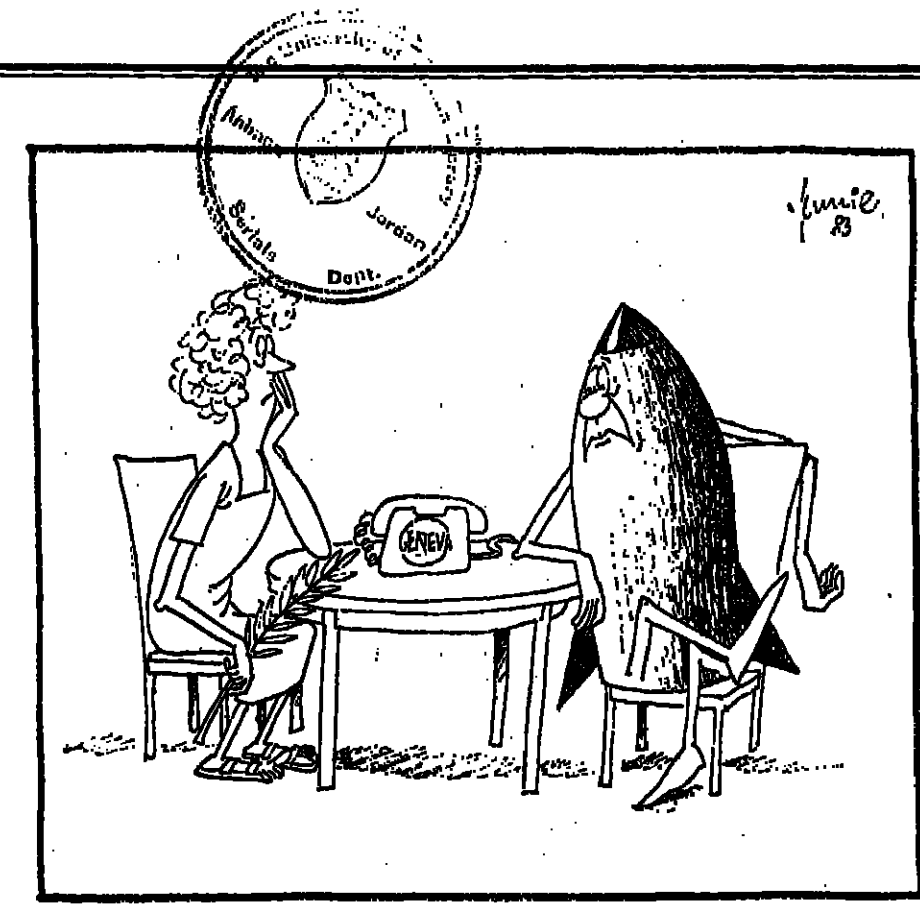
It has since remained on the agenda, and not for nothing. It would not only be a politically advantageous compromise but also a meaningful limitation of the Soviet missile threat to Western Europe.

Above all, the walk in the woods proposal fuelled hopes of disregarding for a while the problem of British and French nuclear missiles.

The Soviet Union has made the Geneva talks grind to a halt over this issue, which Herr Genscher will have had in mind in saying:

"I believe the Soviet Union has cause for reconsidering whether the result might not indeed be an acceptable outcome for it."

This point is certainly the crucial one at which the Geneva talks have marked



(Cartoon: Mussel/Frankfurter Rundschau)

time, with Moscow insisting on the medium-range missile ceiling not being lower than that of the existing 162 British and French strategic missiles.

This demand, which is Russia's version of the zero option, would mean no new US missiles were to be stationed in Germany.

It would be unacceptable for the United States and equally unacceptable for Britain, France and Bonn.

The Russians have enough strategic weapons to cover both US targets and the Anglo-French mini-deterrent without needing to rely on the SS-20.

There would only be any point in discussing the British and French missiles at the Start talks on strategic arms reduction.

They have nothing to do with the debate on medium-range missiles, as the Soviet Union originally assured Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in no uncertain terms.

No-one knows exactly what came over the Russians when they decided to resurrect the problem.

Until December 1981 the Soviet leaders excluded British and French missiles from the medium-range agenda.

They have since been increasingly insistent on them being included, especially since Mr Andropov took over as Soviet leader.

The Soviet Defence Minister, Marshal Ustinov, may have announced that

consideration of British and French nuclear weapons at the Geneva talks was an objective necessity with regard to Soviet security interests.

But why has that only been the case since February 1982?

Besides, the Soviet leaders ought to know their Europe well enough to realise that as long as they insist on this demand there can be no question of a compromise in Geneva.

The walk in the woods proposal was not the first indication (although it is still the latest) that the Soviet Union does not seriously believe it can gain full approval of its viewpoint in Geneva.

That is why it is important for the Bonn government to remind both Moscow and Washington of the walk in the woods proposal right now.

The reminder might encourage the Russians to reconsider a viewpoint they did not always hold so definitely.

And it could prompt the Americans to start work on constructive proposals in anticipation of a Soviet climb-down on the inclusion of British and French missiles in any medium-range agreement.

Bonn's quiet reminders have admittedly upset not only Moscow and Washington. In Germany too some people have seen them less as a negotiation proposal than as readiness on Bonn's part to dispense once and for all with the stationing of medium-range ballistic missiles in Europe.

The Bonn government stands accused of wanting unilaterally to call into question the missile modernisation weapon mix, or combination of Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles.

Even Mr Nitze is accused of wanting to achieve results at virtually any price for reasons of personal ambition, which is an incredible insult to a man of his unquestioned integrity and independence.

The critics are repeating an old mistake in attributing to a single weapon system

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WORLD AFFAIRS

Andropov plans reported to involve reunited Germany

Chancellor Kohl's comments in Moscow on German reunification cannot have come like a bolt out of the blue for the Soviet leader, Mr Andropov.

Mr Andropov is said to be engaged in a rethink envisaging in the long term a unified and neutral Europe centred on a reunified Germany.

This strategic rethink is based on the realisation that the countries of Eastern Europe are no longer an effective buffer between the Soviet Union and the West the way nuclear missiles are developing.

Or so says Lajos Lederer, writing in *The Observer*, London. Mr Lederer is a well-known specialist on East Bloc affairs who is reputed to be on good terms with leading politicians in the East.

He says his information hails from well-informed Hungarian officials. Mr Andropov is said to have outlined his views in three long meetings with the Hungarian leader, Mr Kadar, in Moscow.

What is more, the Soviet leader is planning to launch a new European peace offensive despite the failure so far of arms control talks and the chill in relations between the superpowers.

Mr Andropov is said to give priority to political moves to redress the balance of East-West confidence over agreements soon on limiting the stationing of nuclear weapons.

Moscow is keenly aware of the missile threat and the long-term risks of a China hostile to the Soviet Union.

So the Soviet leaders plan to ensure the security of the USSR by means of a combination of arms control agreements with the United States and a guarantee of political stability in Europe.

Mr Lederer, quoting his Hungarian sources, says similar ideas were considered by Mr Brezhnev.

Realising that in a nuclear war not even loyal East Bloc satellites could

Honecker offer puts Carstens in a dilemma

DR leader Erich Honecker has invited Bonn head of state Karl Carstens to attend an official ceremony to mark the 500th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther.

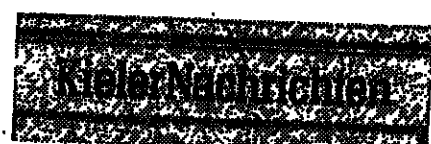
At first glance it might seem a noble gesture, or little short of one. On closer scrutiny it can be seen to be a double-edged and highly problematic offer.

What makes it such political dynamite is that President Carstens has been invited to attend a ceremony in East Berlin rather than in Elsfleben, Eisenach or Wittenberg.

President Carstens as a practising Protestant would have accepted with spontaneous pleasure an invitation to take part in celebrations in Luther's home town or in towns so closely associated with his life and work.

But he cannot be expected to do so in

Continued on page 4



Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has returned to the fray as an advocate of East-West agreement on renunciation of the use of force.

An agreement of this kind would have an important stabilising effect, he wrote in a letter to leading members of his Free Democratic Party.

The FDP leader has long been a determined advocate of renunciation of the use of force. It formed part of the Free Democrats' 1980 election manifesto.

The East Bloc resurrected it internationally in its January 1983 Prague declaration, and Herr Genscher has since clearly succeeded in enlisting Chancellor Kohl's support.

Leading Christian Democrats, one is bound to add, remain extremely sceptical about the whole idea.

Germany's major Nato partners similarly continue to take a dim view of the proposal, arguing that countries are sufficiently committed to not using force as it is.

Yet another treaty on renunciation of the use of force might even be harmful in view of the illusions it would create, they feel.

Herr Genscher visited Prague, where the East Bloc drew up its January declaration, in February 1983. He welcomed the Eastern proposals.

Renunciation of the use of force as he envisaged it, he later explained, would extend to members of one's own pact system and must include an end to Soviet aggression in Afghanistan.

In other words, Herr Genscher would like to use renunciation of the use of force to offset the Brezhnev Doctrine whereby Moscow is entitled to intervene in any fraternal communist country.

CDU/CSU experts feel the Helsinki accords, which were signed by the Soviet Union and all the other East Bloc states in Europe, run counter to the Brezhnev Doctrine.

The Final Act at Helsinki forbids the use or threat of force against all countries that signed the accords, including one's own pact partners.

This and the UN Charter, which likewise incorporates a pledge not to use

and West were to offer to withdraw Russian troops from Eastern Europe. In return the United States would be expected to withdraw its forces from Western Europe.

The Hungarians are also persuaded that increasingly liberal moves are being permitted in Eastern Europe, especially in the religious sector.

The aim is to convince the West that Russia no longer has aggressive plans to disseminate Soviet ideology in Western Europe.

A leading Hungarian Jew, Dr Alexander Scheiber, was recently given the highest Hungarian order of merit. This award is listed as an example of good will toward religious communities.

There are also said to be clear signs that the Soviet Union is changing its traditional trade policies toward Eastern Europe.

Hungary, for instance, is allowed to pursue liberal economic and social policies.

But the most surprising feature of the entire rethink is the extent to which the Soviet leaders have reverted to thinking aloud about German reunification.

Hans-Helz Schlenker
(Kleiner Nachrichten, 1 August 1983)

Genscher keeps alive idea of renunciation of force

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force in settling political disputes, have led to other Nato Foreign Ministers showing little enthusiasm for yet another treaty.

Nato Foreign Ministers, meeting in Paris in June, expressly stated that a verbal reaffirmation of the commitment to renounce the use of force was no substitute for action.

Mention was made, in this context, of Poland and Afghanistan.

Herr Genscher was privately told that Bonn's Nato allies felt the East Bloc initiative formed part of the psychological struggle waged by the Kremlin.

Moscow, they argued, was trying to foster in the West a mistaken feeling of security despite the fact that there had been no change in the Eastern arms build-up.

Only Greece and Denmark seemed willing to actively take up the Eastern offer.

The dim view of fresh declarations renouncing the use of force taken by the Christian Democrats is underlined by a Berlin speech made at the end of May by Alois Mertes, CDU, Minister of State at the Bonn Foreign Office.

The Federal Republic of Germany, he said, ought to take precautions against devaluation of the concept of renunciation of the use of force.

This depreciation was brought about by a proliferation of agreements on the subject.

The Prague proposal seemed to him to be no more than a manoeuvre to distract attention from the serious breaches by Moscow of the existing ban on the use of force to which all states were committed.

Yet Chancellor Kohl, clearly advised by Foreign Minister Genscher, nonetheless made the following statement at a dinner given in his honour at the Kremlin in July:

"A renewed and binding reaffirmation of the ban on the use of force can contribute toward an improvement in the international situation provided it specifically prevents the threat of force and ends the use of force where it is still brought to bear."

Berni Conrad
(Die Welt, 6 August 1983)

Solid reasons for keeping Bucharest in

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Two months ago Foreign Minister Genscher visited Rumania, now back in Bucharest. There are reasons why he is keen on maintaining close ties with Mr Ceausescu.

Rumania is an East Bloc country to set aside Soviet foreign policy as far as possible. It has to be paid special attention in the NATO partners for thinking about compromise solutions to the NATO missile issue.

Yet while Rumania is keen to pursue an independent foreign policy, it has not yet shown any signs of departing from East Bloc standard policy.

For the Rumanian public, limited by inadequate supplies, the police regimentation. Any move this abroad leads to prompt intervention by Bucharest.

The Rumanian leaders have failed to appreciate that many in the West would like to see the pursue different domestic policy difference is that the place of the cause they are afraid existing will not be enough in the long run.

seguard the degree of independence Rumania has established in the Balkans. But it is paying no attention to the current squabbling.

One effect of Rumanian policies directly affects relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. The fact that a majority of the Rumanians would like to see the

There are a wide range of factors that date back to the end of the Second World War when the German-speaking population of Transylvania were made to leave their homes.

Bucharest later amended its constitution to state that the German minority in Rumania, and a more generous attitude towards the German minority, has been, however, one breath of fresh air.

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HOME AFFAIRS
It's the season of the unexpected in Bonn

Amazing things are happening: CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss visits Germany's leader, Erich Honecker. Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann (CSU) makes his predecessor, Helmut Schmidt (FDP), look like an amateur in matters of environmental protection. Chancellor Helmut Kohl (CDU) and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (FDP) are censured by German NATO partners for thinking about compromise solutions to the NATO missile issue.

Bonn's centre-right coalition simulating the old SPD-FDP policy fields as *Ostpolitik* and environmental protection?

A closer look at the 100 days since Chancellor Kohl was sworn in after the election in March might provide some answers.

Any event, it is certain that at least "about-turn" did not take place. The difference is that the place of the cause they are afraid existing will not be enough in the long run.

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the improvement of the previously strained relations with the USA, the prevention of a further deterioration of the ties with Moscow and, with Strauss's help, the improvement of German-German ties. But there is a certain risk involved here. Kohl and Strauss have raised hopes that might not be fulfilled.

Pollsters were recently told about unfulfilled hopes when asking the public about its attitude towards the new economic and fiscal policy.

The upturn that was expected to come after the change of government is weak, and Kohl has meanwhile come under fire from two sides: business complains about half-hearted economic measures, saying that Kohl has not gone far enough in his social cutbacks; other quarters accuse the Chancellor of having allowed the dismantling of the social net.

The truth lies somewhere in the middle. The plan of Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff (FDP) to stake everything on performance and an economic upturn has not been implemented.

The present government was spared the paralyzing dispute over spending cutbacks and social balance — a dispute on which the old government foundered.

The difficult budget talks were settled in an almost elegant manner though without a radical economic and fiscal about-turn.

There have also been new accents in the government's media policy, the home construction business is out of the doldrums and the acute crisis of the social security pensions fund has been averted for the moment. But new problems are likely to crop up in the medium term.

In the field of domestic affairs, Zimmermann went furthest in about-turn acrobatics when he turned against himself in matters of environmental protection.

The bogeyman of ecologists took only a few weeks to achieve more than his deeply committed predecessor, Gerhard Baum, managed to wrest from his SPD coalition partner and the Bundesrat.

Zimmermann's about-turn on the issue of internal security was equally

the Hesse State assembly has disavowed itself to pave the way for elections in September.

Resolution became necessary because the three parties represented — CDU, SPD and the Greens — were unable to muster the majority needed to elect a government.

Nobody was prepared to go into coalition with the CDU, and the SPD was unwilling to compromise with the Greens.

In last year's Hesse election, the coalition in which Helmut Schmidt was elected when the FDP abandoned him won the SPD enough sympathy to avoid total defeat.

The SPD missed the chance of improving its position by not calling for elections shortly afterwards.

This was probably due to the disinc-

Hesse asks the voters to end stalemate

nation of the Hesse SPD to face the voters again so shortly after Prime Minister Börner had launched a frontal campaign attack on the Greens.

With the FDP having been voted out, Hesse found itself with a torso of a government without a parliamentary majority.

Börner's gain during that one year in government was to have evolved a new approach to the Greens and their pet issues. The SPD's gain is a new Börner.

The CDU's top candidate last year

spectacular, though less unexpected. The Kohl cabinet's first 100 days have made it clear that a total about-turn in domestic and foreign policy is impossible in a complex industrial society.

Yet it would be wrong to assume that Kohl simply continued on the course charted by Helmut Schmidt. The present coalition is pursuing a different policy in many fields.

Kohl has had definite successes in his foreign, fiscal and social policy. With some reservations, he has also promoted a better economic development.

Thomas Löffelholz
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 1 August 1983)

Blood-throwing protest by MP condemned

A Hesse member of parliament threw blood over an American army officer during a reception in the assembly building in Wiesbaden. Frank Schwalbe-Hoth, of the Greens, used a bottle of his own blood to make his point about Washington's policies. The victim was Lieutenant General Paul S. Williams, commander of the US army's Fifth Corps.

The attack by the Green member of the Hesse assembly, Frank Schwalbe-Hoth, is inexcusable.

Any political grouping that, like the Greens, seeks parliamentary representation must obey at least a minimum of the rules of the game. And anybody who acts this way is clearly in breach of these rules.

The attack cannot be minimised by pointing to alleged moral motives, and what makes it worse is the fact that this was not the spontaneous action of an individual but had been agreed upon and condoned by the Green grouping in the Hesse assembly.

It is predictable that the attack will lose the Greens a lot of sympathy.

Among the first reactions from people close to the Greens: Holmar von Dittfurth, a renowned scientist who has been backing the Greens, has demanded Schwalbe-Hoth's immediate expulsion from the party.

The Greens must act soon and admit to having made more than just a tactical mistake if they in fact did plan and condone the attack.

Unless they do, the citizens' verdict in the September state election is not only programmed but will be deserved.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 5 August 1983)

was Alfred Dregger. The conservatives will now enter the election with Walter Wallmann at their head. The switch would have benefited them years ago, but it will probably help even now — to the detriment of the FDP.

There is yet another difference. As opposed to a year earlier, the CDU is now a government rather than an opposition party in Bonn. But it is almost impossible to predict whether this will be an asset or a liability in the election.

It is certain, however, that it will not be as much of a liability for the CDU as the SPD had hoped.

The only ones whose prospects have neither deteriorated nor improved are the Greens. Their stability could well perpetuate the deadlock the new election is supposed to overcome.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 August 1983)

Big dispute or just summer theatre?

There is a heated dispute in the Bonn coalition: it features Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff (FDP) against CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss; Hans-Günther Hoppe (FDP) against Family Affairs Minister Heiner Geissler (CDU); and Irmgard Adam-Schwartz, the FDP general secretary, against the rest.

One could, of course, say that Strauss is not part of the Bonn government, but that would be the easy way out.

The CSU leader is, after all, the head of one of the three coalition parties. Besides, his private *Ostpolitik* and *Deutschlandpolitik* moves have made it quite clear that he must be reckoned with in Bonn.

The question is: is the dispute in the coalition just a bit of summer theatre or is it a genuine falling-out among partners?

Even if Count Lambsdorff's attacks are partly due to image-building, this does not explain everything. His criticism is well-founded and makes sense.

Strauss will still have to prove that he was right in arranging a DM1bn loan to the GDR at this moment, and the proof will not be forthcoming until East Berlin is prepared to discuss substantial improvements in German-German relations.

It is worth noting that, after their switch of partners ten months ago, the Free Democrats are now zeroing in on certain conservative politicians.

The fact that the FDP deputy floor leader in the Bundestag, Hans-Günther

Hoppe (who could well soon succeed Floor leader Wolfgang Mischnick), is attacking Heiner Geissler (who is also the CDU general secretary) for his latest suggestions on family affairs is a matter of fundamental significance. The liberals have an insatiable need to prove their *raison d'être*.

But to assume that such political manoeuvres endanger the cohesion of the coalition is pure speculation.

As spectacular as these disputes may be, they are peripheral symptoms.

Chancellor Kohl and the FDP leader, Foreign Minister Genscher

POLITICS

Berlin mayor von Weizsäcker tipped as future Bonn head of state



Will Richard von Weizsäcker be the next Bonn head of state? Karl Carstens is not standing for re-election next spring and his is one of several names that are regularly mooted.

Few would deny that Herr von Weizsäcker, who is currently Governing Mayor of West Berlin, is the man most likely to succeed.

His name has the best ring politically and he would probably enjoy the widest-ranging support, as he well realises.

It is an open secret that Herr von Weizsäcker, 63, would like nothing better than a term as head of state in Bonn.

But he prefers to exercise restraint. "You don't stand for selection as a candidate for President," he says. You are named.

He recently dropped a mysterious hint to journalists at a working dinner at which asparagus was served.

Asparagus growers, he said, had to tend their beds for three years before harvesting a crop. Political hints also took time to mature.

Next year he will have been mayor of Berlin for three years. So speculation is rife.

Christian and Free Democratic leaders who are in a position to say who might be chosen as their candidate are keeping their views to themselves.

There are obvious reasons why, yet now and again hints are leaked to the effect that a Cabinet reshuffle is envisaged in connection with the appointment of a successor to President Carstens.

So something everyone claims to want to avoid might yet happen. The next head of state might not be the best man for the job.

He could be the most convenient candidate from the viewpoint of party politics and political infighting between the parties.

Villa Hammerschmidt, the President's official residence in Bonn, could end up being a shunting yard for the Chancellor's Office, as a member of the CDU executive committee in Bonn puts it.

Other names put forward are those of Alfred Dregger, the CDU/CSU leader in the Bundestag, and Rainer Barzel, the Bundestag Speaker.

The Chancellor is said to be keen to replace Herr Dregger by his longstanding personal friend Heiner Gelsler, who is currently Minister of Family Affairs and CDU general secretary.

Herr Barzel's name is being mentioned inasmuch as he would be a less controversial choice than Herr Dregger, who could then take over as Speaker in his place.

Less is now heard of another hopeful, Bavarian Education Minister Hans Maier, who was long felt to be a likely successor.

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher seems an even less likely head of state (he would be pushed upstairs to make way for Franz Josef Strauss at the Foreign Office).

Denominational considerations must, of course, be borne in mind. The Protestant Church takes a dim view of a

Roman Catholic head of state.

Its argument is that Herr Dregger, Herr Barzel or Herr Maier as President would mean Catholics held all major political appointments in Bonn.

The Chancellor, the President and the Bundestag Speaker would all be Catholics, whereas the population is roughly half-Catholic, half-Protestant.

Understandably, the Protestant Church would prefer to see Herr von Weizsäcker, a former moderator of the Protestant Church Assembly, as head of state.

There are signs that the Social Democrats might be prepared to forgo a candidate of their own and support Christian Democrat von Weizsäcker if he were to stand.

His work in Berlin has shown him to stand for integration and to be a man even the Alternatives respect despite their differences of opinion with him.

He is felt by representatives of various shades of political opinion to be capable of preventing polarisation, especially a split between the older and the younger generation.

He has gained in authority during his term as mayor of Berlin and he is an open-minded man with conservative-liberal, common-sense views.

Richard von Weizsäcker is one of the few politicians who still has access to the young in an age when many members of the younger generation will no longer have anything to do with the established parties and their policies.

But what would happen in Berlin if he were to return to Bonn? He led the CDU to power there in 1981 after 30 years in Opposition.

If he were to stand for re-election as mayor the Christian Democrats could be sure of holding on to the city in 1985.

The Social Democrats would certainly stand little chance of ousting the current coalition of Christian and Free Democrats.

Under his leadership there may have been political mishaps. There may be a CDU local government mafia (just as there used to be an SPD one).

But these drawbacks are more than outweighed by Weizsäcker's glamour, popularity and international prestige, and the CDU rely on him as a figurehead because there is such a wide gap between the reality and what he is felt to stand for.

It is doubtful whether another politician would command the authority to frame certain political views, such as his liberal, against-the-CDU-trend viewpoint on migrant workers.

In the Berlin CDU he leads, his liberal views command no more than minority support, and this minority dreads the thought of him leaving.

Party-political strategists, who are for the most part right-wingers, are afraid of something different: an overt struggle for power to take his place.

Many would feel he was leaving the city too soon after a mere three years as mayor.

Possible successors such as Eberhard Diepgen, CDU leader in the city council, or Finance Senator Gerhard Kunz, are still too young, too inexperienced and too little known.

They may command substantial influence within the city's CDU but they are colourless in the impression they otherwise convey.

Home Affairs Senator Heinrich Lummer, who enjoys wide CDU support, is secretly fancied by many in Berlin if there is to be a change at the top.

He has persistently been able to oppose Mayor von Weizsäcker and take political decisions the mayor later had to reverse, as on migrant workers.

Yet Herr von Weizsäcker would probably join forces with the Free Democrats in ensuring that Herr Lummer was not elected his successor.

So whether he stands for President will partly depend on whether he succeeds in finding an alternative leader for West Berlin who looks likely to lead the party to victory at the polls in 1985.

In this context increasing mention is made of Education Senator Hanna-Renate Laurien, who has steadily gained support, even from the Teachers'



Von Weizsäcker looks at the

Union, since coming to the Rhineland-Palatinate to take his post as Minister of the Interior.

She is a determined woman who could be relied on to stick to her guns for which Herr von Weizsäcker stands.

A majority of Berliners would be happy to see him go, but they have shown they would be keen to see him as head of state.

Berlin would hardly become a more desirable place if he were to return to the predecessor as mayor, Hans Vogel of the SPD, returned to the city as Opposition leader.

Herr von Weizsäcker would be very much to the liking of the CDU and the last CDU conference he was elected to the national executive and presided over an overwhelming majority.

So he may well be their choice to make their recommendations to the 1,040 members of the electoral college in Berlin.

And speculation will continue in the city.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 14 August 1983)

THE ARMS RACE

The state of play in Europe

with Scuds. The Warsaw Pact armies have an estimated 550 of them. The replacement SS-23 is said to have about twice the range, or roughly 300 miles. Both weapon systems, the Frog 7/SS-21 and the Scud B/SS-23, can be fitted out with a choice of three different warheads: either nuclear, conventional or chemical. The range of the SS-12 Scaleboard missile is 600 miles. The nuclear payload of its warhead packs a megaton. The SS-22, its successor, has a range of a little over 600 miles.

There are 100 of them, arrayed in "front" strength of two brigades each and three battalions per brigade. A front is one unit larger than an army and comparable with a Western army group.

A Warsaw Pact front not only has its own command, as does the Western army group; it also has its own auxiliary forces and air force squadrons.

The range of the SS-12 and SS-22, at between 600 and 625 miles, is almost exactly the distance between missile locations and targets.

In peacetime the headquarters of a front is in the Soviet Union, not in a satellite state. The Scaleboard has so far been stationed in Russia and only temporarily been sighted further afield during manoeuvres.

Continued from page 1

tem an effect it doesn't have an cannot have.

The deterrent effect will not go by the board should Pershing 2s not be stationed in Germany. Conversely, stationing them would not lead straight to nuclear war, as the Greens believe.

The Pershing 2 can't decapitate the Soviet Union, if only because it lacks the range to do so. Besides, 108 single-warhead missiles are simply not enough for a first strike.

Above all, the Pershing 2 is negotiable in Geneva, as are the Cruise missile and the SS-20.

By the terms of the December 1979 dual-track decision NATO resolved that the extent of missile modernisation required would need to be reviewed in the light of terms negotiated.

The weapon mix will no more be taboo than the number of missiles each side is allowed to retain by the terms of an agreement.

Bonn government spokesman Peter Boenisch has noted, much to the annoyance of conservatives, that the weapon mix is not at present up for discussion.

In making this proviso he was merely

stating the obvious. Talks are still in progress and everyone must be keen to avoid narrowing the leeway for negotiation by going categorically on one point or another.

What damage would be done if the Americans were to resurrect the walk in the woods proposal?

No harm whatever would be done if they were to say they were setting aside all their previous misgivings in a further bid to reach agreement.

Either the Soviet Union would agree to the idea and the whole world would be the winner, or the Russians would say no, and at least we should know who was to blame.

Illusions would be dispelled. Everyone would know where they stood and why. So why not? The Bonn government is doing well to make the point.

In Moscow Herr Kohl told Mr Andropov that when he slammed the door behind him in anger as a little boy his mother used to say: "Do what you want but you're going to have to come back through that same door."

No Bonn government can afford to lay itself open to accusations of not having done all it could to keep the door to a negotiated compromise open.

Christopher Bertram
(Die Zeit, 5 August 1983)

Nuclear medium- and short-range weapons systems in Europe

	Warsaw Pact	Nato	
Missiles range 1000-5500 km	SS-20, 5500 km, total so far 1080 (360 launching systems, each with 3 warheads; 245 systems in Europe) SS-4, SS-5	So far none. At most there will be 108 Pershing II (1800 km) 464 Cruise (2800 km)	(572)
Total		over 1000	(872)
Missiles range 500-1000 km	SS-12 (Scaleboard) to be replaced by SS-22 (900-1000 km) Scud B to be replaced by SS-23 (250-500 km)	Pershing I. To be reduced by up to 108	(188 (72))
Total		550	(188 (72))
Missiles range 80-200 km	Frog 7, to be replaced by SS-21 (80-120 km)	Honest John or Lance (110 km)	100
Guns, artillery range 30 km		Extent of reduction not yet known	>1000
Fighter aircraft land-based	(Badger, Blinder, Flasher, Fitter, Flogger, Fencer, Brewer)	up to 2800	up to 600

The counts are of warheads, apart from the aircraft. Most of the aircraft carry one. Only the larger carry two or three. Main source: Nato General Secretariat, 1982. References "to be replaced by" and bracketed figures mean if and when deployment of Nato missiles, in accordance with the 1979 double decision, is carried out. Frankfurt Allgemeine Zeitung/Bratislava Kleser

Much the same can be expected of the successor system, the SS-22.

Western officers feel the Soviet Union might switch to locating the SS-22 further forward for political effect. But in military terms that would make little sense.

In the past Russia has kept this, the most powerful weapon at its army's disposal, at a safe distance and in keeping with its range.

There are no targets for the SS-12 or SS-22 in Western Europe that could not be covered equally well or better by the medium-range SS-20.

Soviet short-range guided missiles are not an additional threat over and above the one posed by the SS-20.

It would be another matter altogether if the Soviet Union were to agree to a zero option in respect of the SS-20. The shorter-range missiles, especially the SS-22, would then attain political importance.

The chart shows the extent of Soviet nuclear arms aimed at targets in Western Europe in comparison with similar or comparable Western systems.

Numbers refer to warheads in the case of missiles and field artillery. Where aircraft are concerned the number of warheads will probably not be much higher than the number of delivery systems.

The chart does not list the naval nuclear capacity of either side, such as fleet air arm planes on land or on board aircraft carriers and missiles on board submarines, in European waters.

The deployment of naval aircraft against European land targets depends on too many factors to be included in an overall comparison of strength.

They include mobility, number and distance of aircraft carriers from the coast, the density of anti-aircraft cover, penetration capacity and the degree of competition from enemy naval forces.

The figures include British nuclear capacity, but not the French deterrent. But the overall impression would not be substantially different if they were to include French short-range missiles, US naval aircraft and Soviet naval aircraft and nuclear submarines stationed off the coast of Europe.

The Soviet Union is known to have a clear advantage over the West in medium-range missiles and conventional forces. The chart shows that it has the edge over the West in short-range nuclear devices too.

In all arms categories important for Europe the East has a much higher capacity than the West. Field artillery is the sole exception.

Yet Nato Defence Ministers have instructed their military staffs to consider whether nuclear grenades might be dispensed with entirely or in part.

The chart is based on the official 1982 Nato comparison of forces strength published in Germany by the Bonn Defence Ministry.

It also takes into account a recent speech by US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger in which he announced that the Soviet Union now had 360 SS-20 missile launchers in service.

This number is enough to equip 40 regiments with nine launchers each; 27 are currently aimed at targets in Western Europe and 13 based in Soviet Asia.

Günther Gilleßen
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 July 1983)

Dilemma for Carstens

Continued from page 2

connection with an official visit to East Berlin.

It must clearly be recalled that for Bonn and the Western Allies East Berlin remains part of a city with special Four-Power status.

For the GDR and the Warsaw Pact countries East Berlin forms part of the GDR in terms of international law.

Experience has shown that the GDR uses to the hilt any protocol leeway the West allows it on this issue to lend support to its own propaganda viewpoint on the status of East Berlin.

Bonn politicians have accordingly always taken good care not to hold high-level meetings with GDR leaders in East Berlin.

Willy Brandt conferred with GDR Premier Willi Stoph in Erfurt in 1970. Helmut Schmidt held talks with Herr

Honecker at Werbellinsee, north of Berlin, in 1981.

Opposition leader Hans-Jochen Vogel and Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss likewise chose to meet Herr Honecker at the Werbellinsee hunting lodge rather than in East Berlin.

So Professor Carstens has been put on the spot by the invitation, especially as he is an international lawyer by profession.

If he quietly overrides past misgivings on legal niceties and accepts the invitation to visit East Berlin there will doubtless be a risk of undermining the Western viewpoint and providing the GDR with an argument by which to call into question the status of West Berlin.

Yet if he declines, communist propagandists will have little difficulty in branding the President a Western cold

warrior who didn't even see fit to visit our Martin Luther.

There can be no doubt that Carstens is keen on good-neighbourly relations with the GDR and on the solution of the intra-German dilemma.

He will also know that people in the GDR will regard any visit he makes to East Berlin less as upgrading the German regime than as a sign of German unity.

So he must arrive at a solution which neither undermines Western legal claims nor insults or upsets those who have invited him.

Regardless whether he accepts or declines the invitation, President Carstens will have to reach a political decision.

It will be one that has little to do with matters of prestige and status and much to do with the reality of divided Germany.

Bodo Stöckert
(Nordwest Zeitung, 14 August 1983)

SPD/CDU

■ THE MEDIA

American cable TV crucial in bid to change hackneyed images of Germany

Much of America's image of Germany stems from third rate TV production with monocled officers shouting *Achtung!* as in the series *Hogan's Heroes* that has for years been coming into the living rooms of millions of Americans.

The picture many Americans have of Germany and the Germans is comensurately lopsided. And the American media are extremely selective when reporting on Germany.

"Just about the only time our media say something about the Federal Republic of Germany is when terrorists attack our military bases, hurl stones at politicians, etc. You can well imagine that this makes for a pretty unbalanced picture," writes Douglas B. Sherman in a letter to Radio *Deutsche Welle*, the Voice of Germany.

It is obvious that this must lead to irritations and misunderstandings. For instance: the Peace Movement and demonstrations against the deployment of US missiles in Germany brand all Germans as pacifists or neutralists in the eyes of the American public.

Yet we Germans regard ourselves as a stable, democratic country and a dependable partner of the Western world.

We are dismayed at the fact that none of this has been recognised on the other side of the Atlantic although our world is flooded with information and although there have been millions of person-to-person contacts between Germans and Americans.

Experts have a surprisingly simple explanation for this phenomenon.

Prejudices, they say, are almost impossible to eradicate once they have struck root in the public's mind.

This is so because people tend to ignore anything that does not fit into their preconceived concept.

The fight against prejudices calls for a long campaign of sound argument. Therefore, nobody wanting to correct the picture of Germany in America should hope for quick results.

Cultural exchanges and seminars can be helpful, but it is doubtful whether they can reach 200 million Americans. More likely, they will influence only the participants.

At least, this is how Martin Elsäßer, a high-ranking Bonn Foreign Office official, sees it.

"Television is the only realistic way of reaching a broad public in the USA," he says.

And since this view has been confirmed by other experts, *Deutsche Welle*, one of Germany's two radio stations that broadcast abroad (*Deutschlandfunk* is the other), has started producing tailor-made and informative TV programmes for the USA.

The Voice of Germany can fall back on many years of shortwave broadcasting experience, including a special North America programme broadcast daily since 1962.

In addition, there is the transcription service which provides 177 American radio stations with some 20,000 tapes a year.

Naturally, the *Deutsche Welle* planners are also drawing on the experience of other institutions that have tried to place German TV productions with American networks.



Though they have been successful to some extent, the response has been relatively meagre.

Martin Elsäßer: "We are almost nonexistent on American TV."

But the mammoth and seemingly so rigid American TV market has opened up somewhat lately.

Surprisingly, the British (*The English Channel*), the French (*Télé France USA*), the Irish, Italians, Greeks, Scandinavians and Dutch have managed to break into what seemed a closed shop — and that with programmes that are not specifically American.

This is due to the enormous spread of cable and satellite TV.

Almost the whole of the United States and Canada has been hooked up to the cable TV system.

There are close to 5,000 cable networks in the USA alone, serving the 80 million subscribing households.

It therefore stands to reason that there is a huge demand for programmes. In fact, even high calibre and specialised programmes are now more and more in demand.

The same applies to programmes aimed at ethnic target groups.

There now seems to be a growing interest in German and European affairs among the otherwise traditionally isolationist Americans.

This is largely due to the growing realisation that America's affluence and security are closely linked with Europe.

The new trend is further stimulated by the fact that many Americans are of German descent and that thousands of GIs have been stationed in Germany since the end of the war. There is also the stream of German tourists visiting America and providing person-to-person contact between the two nations.

Using existing German productions, *Deutsche Welle* (in conjunction with the ARD and ZDF networks in this country) began putting together four three-hour test programmes in 1982.

The concept was drafted after consultation with American media experts and journalists. The result is a programme that puts the emphasis on entertainment without neglecting information.

Such American slants are relaxed moderators, frequent use of mild slang, fixed lengths and serialisation were taken into account.

The test programmes were examined as to their suitability by three cable sys-

40 years since Eisenhower put US forces on the airwaves

The American Forces Network (AFN) began broadcasting in London at 5.45 p.m. on 4 July 1943.

It was set up on the orders of General Eisenhower and completed 40 years of broadcasting on the 4th of July Independence Day this year.

Broadcasting headquarters stayed in London, but mobile radio station followed the US troops to the European theatres of war.

AFN Munich, the first station in Germany, went on the air on 11 June 1945, followed by AFN Frankfurt a month later, on 15 July.

The European headquarters was then moved to Frankfurt's Hoechst borough where it remained until 1966 when the station moved to a building next to the Hesse broadcasting network.

What had started off as an improvised station for American troops has developed into a sophisticated and efficient network.

AFN broadcasts are now as popular with German listeners as they are with the Americans.

Generals Eisenhower and George C. Marshall intended the service to provide their soldiers on the front with a whiff of home.

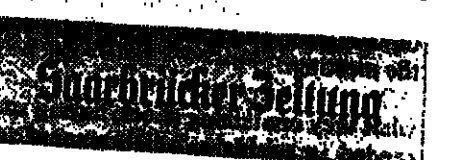
The fact that the war ended did not change this aim. The Americans soldiers stayed in Germany as an occupation force.

The idea is still to bring America to the living rooms of the more than 500,000 US soldiers and their families in Europe via radio and TV.

American journalist T.W. Cunningham, who edits the AFN TV Guide, (circulation 170,000) stresses that AFN is not a propaganda station.

"AFN supplies the US forces in Europe and their families with objective news and music from home. The AFN news comes off the tickers of the major international news agencies and is presented unchanged. AFN has no political function, and its sole purpose is to provide information and entertainment."

It is a Pentagon institution under the direct control of the American Forces



Radio and Television Service (AFRTS) in Los Angeles.

It is from there that AFN stations in many parts of the world receive their programmes.

In Frankfurt AFN headquarters then splices these programmes into its two round-the-clock broadcasts for Europe: a variety programme on AM and a popular music programme in stereo on FM.

The nine regional studios add information of local interest.

The operating principle of AFN is "much radio and television with little administration."

tems on the East Coast, and on the West Coast in...

Subsequent polls showed 47 per cent of the respondents found the programmes excellent, very good, or good. 47 per cent said they would watch the programmes while 31 per cent would be glad to receive them permanently.

The prospects for German people on American cable TV are good, making the closing of the gap feasible.

There are sufficient suitable programmes to fill the need. The number of 150 hours a year, five per cent of the current ARD, ZDF and private stations.

But radio remains the dominant medium. Here, the transcription programme North America has been further to the needs of the listener.

The weekly magazine *Am Sonntag* now puts even more emphasis on the "human touch." A number killed.

There are prompt demands for legislation to limit freedom of access to the airspace and prevent the victims of private pilots, from risking their lives.

German fans of flying who welcome any fine weekend as an opportunity of getting up into the air and on their favourite pastime.

They then endlessly circle the airfield, practising landing and take-off to cope with an emergency.

They invite friends and relations for a ride or a quick flight to the seaside. There are private pilots who are keen to show their families and neighbours how safe they are at the joystick.

The writer, Dr Heinz Fellmann, is director general of the German radio service for foreign *Deutsche Welle*.

The broadcasts, which are sent from North Africa to the 275 countries, are put together by more than 275 employees.

In the late 1960s, AFN branched out into television. Germans are unaware that there are four rather than three TV channels.

This ignorance is because AFN TV sets operate on the PAL system which cannot be received by sets.

AFN is in the fortunate position of being able to pick the plums of the huge American TV pudding.

AFRTS in Los Angeles buys the best of the best from American major networks.

For instance, AFN shows four months before the debut of the series started in Germany.

AFN-TV is further enhanced by the fact that — unlike with most programmes in America — it has no commercials because it is financed by the Pentagon.

Many wellwishers sent telegrams to mark AFN's 40th anniversary, including President Helmut Kohl and many German stars.

Chancellor Kohl thanked AFN for its concerted effort in promoting relations between US soldiers and people of Germany.

AFN has had a considerable impact on the German media set-up, especially in the field of music.

Several generations of young Germans have learned of trends and the world of American pop through AFN.

(Saarbrücker Zeitung)

AVIATION

Sudden death in a beautiful, cloudless, Saturday sky

Five people died in five separate accidents involving private aircraft over the weekend in Germany. The weather was fine. The worst crash was on North Sea island of Borkum when a twin-engine sports plane, in this article, Rudolf of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, fell at the ups and downs of private aviation.

Private pilots are up, up and away every Saturday and Sunday in fine weather when air force pilots are off for the weekend.

On Monday, reporters have difficulty in keeping track of the crashes and number killed.

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They zoom over the rooftops of their home town to make their point, often disregarding altitude regulations and making a tremendous noise too.

There are licensing authorities and aero clubs to look after the 30,000 private pilots in the Federal Republic of Germany.

They know best where men and machines go wrong. They include the Federal Aviation Agency, Brunswick, and the Federal Air Safety Establishment, Frankfurt.

The agency has a staff of 146 at Brunswick airport and five regional offices. It is responsible for the safety, airworthiness and reliability of aircraft and crews in Germany.

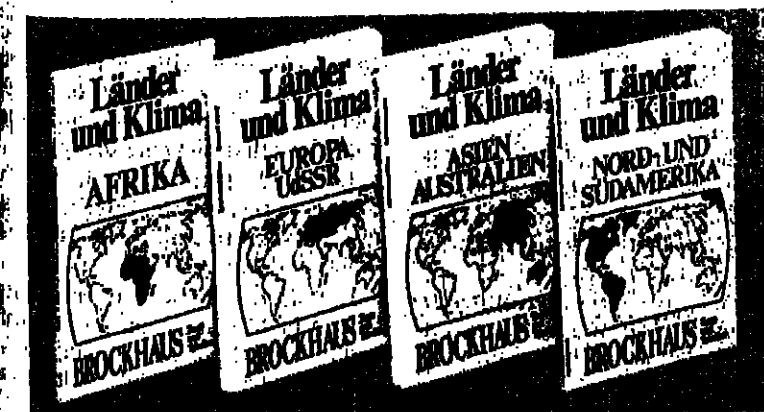
For years it has run bright campaigns in non-official German to bring home to the flying public and dangers and problems of aviation.

The latest air safety brochure for instance reads: "There are experiences your only have once in a lifetime. Flying by contact flight rules in bad weather is one of them."

"But there are pilots who escaped by the skin of their teeth even though they no longer had any idea where they were or even as much as their compass directions."

These lucky guys, the brochure suggested, ought to write to explain what it was like because what they had to say could be a life-saver for others.

Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in see-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

These figures compiled over the years are invaluable both for planning journeys to distant countries and for scientific research.

Basic facts and figures for every country in the world form a preface to the tables. The emphasis is on the country's natural statistics, on climate, population, trade and transport.

The guides are handy in size and flexibly bound, indispensable for daily use in commerce, industry and the travel trade.

Four volumes are available:

North and South America, 172 pp., DM 22.80;

Asia/Australia, 240 pp., DM 24.80;

Africa, 130 pp., DM 19.80;

Europe/USSR, 240 pp., DM 24.80

Look it up in Brockhaus

F. A. Brockhaus, Postfach 1709; D-6200 Wiesbaden 1



Smouldering end to a relaxing weekend... eight died in this crash on a North Sea island. (Photo: dpa)

The Brunswick agency feels this information is so important that it is even prepared to handle material supplied anonymously.

It assumes that reports might be submitted anonymously by pilots who were ashamed of their own incompetence or felt a signed admission might lead to legal proceedings against them.

But bad weather and flying through dense cloud can hardly be blamed for the proliferation of accidents in recent weeks.

The weather has been fine, making it hard to see how so many planes could have crashed over the weekend. But Karl Kössler, head of the Brunswick agency, simply points out of his fourth-floor window.

A single aircraft has taken off during the past hour. More than a dozen planes are tied up at their moorings on the grass alongside the runway.

"A few years ago they would all have been airborne in such fine, sunny weather," he says. "The tax on aviation fuel for private pilots and the drastic increase in airport fees have made flying a luxury."

"Pilots are logging fewer hours and air safety has been the loser." He cites statistics in respect of hours logged, take-offs and accidents to prove his point.

Last year the average number of hours logged was down to 20. But this figure is of limited value because it applies to pilots ranging from glider pilots to men at the controls of twin-engine aircraft.

Accident statistics kept on behalf of the aviation department at the Bonn Transport Ministry paint a clearer picture.

Sixty per cent of last year's accidents were due to errors by the pilot, the figures show. Half were due to inadequate preparations.

This category includes accidents described in the statistics as lack of fuel in the engine, which usually turns out to be fatal.

How do they happen? Pilots don't even take the elementary precaution of checking how much fuel they have left in the tank before take-off, if the Brunswick experts are to be believed.

Alternatively, they forget to switch from one tank to another. How can anyone possibly be guilty of such suicidal negligence?

The German affiliate of the International Council of Aircraft Owner and Pilot Associations warns its thousands of members not to be so slack.

All private pilots, it says, ought to join either AOPA or the German Aero Club, both of which regularly run safety campaigns to remind people of the risks.

Pilots must accustom themselves as a matter of life or death to observing absolute discipline in going through flight preparations.

Checklists must be gone through point by point.

Airline pilots are required to undergo regular checks of their prowess at the controls. Private pilots ought to be prepared to have their skills checked periodically by an instructor or experienced pilot too.

Any relaxation of strict discipline that is allowed to become a habit tends to be the forerunner of a sticky end, and there are countless mistakes that both greenhorns and old hands can make.

A pilot taking off from Munich airport recently forgot to take the cover off an air intake tube, with the result that the engine failed to develop full power.

A few days later another private pilot made the elementary mistake of landing without putting out his undercarriage. Both survived, but their repair bills were heavy.

A plane that took off from Munich and crashed on the outskirts of Neumarkt town centre was found to have a heater switch for the carburettor left on, which is bound to have led to loss of power.

Heat must certainly have played a part in the Neumarkt crash, just as it will have done in the crash off Borkum in the North Sea.

At high temperatures and high-altitude airfields the engine and propeller lose power and the plane's ground run distance will be much longer.

At 25°C it is 25 per cent longer, at 35°C 40 per cent longer, with a further 10-per-cent increase per extra 300 metres of altitude.

Yet although there are more accidents in summer the statistics show an overall decline. In 1982 there were 85 accidents involving single-engined aircraft, as against 198 the year before.

The figure for twin-engined planes was 13, as against 20, for helicopters 19 instead of 26, and for gliders 232 rather than 262.

The trend was diametrically opposite when it came to deaths: 76 as against 41 for single-engined planes, 20 as against

Continued on page 10

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Trees keep on dying as experts keep on trying to find out why

Forestry officials all over the country are going their rounds to take stock of what is left of Germany's dying woods and forests.

By the time their findings are available this autumn they will be out of date. Foresters used to plan in terms of centuries. They now no longer recognise their woods after a fortnight's holiday.

The Bonn Interior Ministry has invited top-ranking environmental officials from the Common Market countries, Austria and Switzerland to Bavaria for a fact-finding tour.

They flew round the state from the Bayerischer Wald to the Fichtelgebirge and saw for themselves, from the air and on the ground, what the head of the Swiss environmental protection agency termed a tragedy.

Bavarian forestry experts are afraid that the damage to timber stocks in the state may have increased sevenfold over 1982. Fifty per cent would then be hit.

It is not just the extent of the damage that has increased. Trees are also dying faster. Fir trees can take years to die; spruces can die in a few weeks, and the spruce is by far the most important pine tree grown in Germany.

Deciduous trees are also increasingly affected, especially beech.

There are clearly a variety of causes. The Bavarian Forest is for the most part not unduly affected by acid rain pollution from power station chimneys.

Yet the ozone count reaches record levels when nitrous oxide smog is blown north-east from Munich toward the Czech border.

Trees are dying that have the benefit of the best possible soil, ample supplies of water and ideal weather. It began at high altitudes and has now spread to trees on lower ground.

Even worse, trees that are only a few years old are yellowing and dying. To the untrained eye the woods still look green, but appearances are deceptive.

In the Fichtelgebirge area, further west, there are districts where the woods are already dead. Skeleton tree trunks look very much like photos one has seen of the forests in Czechoslovakia.

Air deaths

Continued from page 9

14 for twin-engine aircraft and five as against three for helicopters.

That naturally leads to a drastic increase in the ratio of fatalities to hours logged.

Last years there were 14,236 private planes, including 6,194 gliders, in the Federal Republic of Germany. That was more than any other country in Europe, possibly including the Soviet Union.

Britain, which was No. 2, trailed with only half as many.

Air space in Germany is very limited, being restricted by many areas out of bounds to private pilots for military reasons.

So it is all the more important for them to take every conceivable precaution. Only pilots who are careful can fairly claim the open skies demanded by AQPA.

Rudolf Meisler
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 29 July 1983)



Pollution readings in this part of Bavaria tell a tale of high sulphur dioxide counts, mainly from West German power station chimneys, but also from the East.

Foresters no longer dare risk thinning out the woods. Where dead wood has been cleared the trees that are still alive and well soon take ill and die, which would seem to indicate that atmospheric pollution is to blame.

The experts still have no explanation for the simultaneous effect, or so it seems, of sulphur dioxide and ozone from nitrous oxides as the cause of death.

All that is known for sure is that both substances are extremely poisonous for plant life. The situation is by no means improved by salting of roads in winter.

Up to 300 metres on either side of roads treated in this way the salt eats into the forest topsoil. Alongside a trunk road in the Fichtelgebirge region a salt count 100 times higher than the normal has been registered.

The Federal Republic of Germany is harder-hit than any other country in Europe by the acid rain that is wreaking havoc on woods and forests.

About 560,000 hectares, or over 1,380,000 acres, of woodland are affected. That means about one tree in 12.

Sulphur dioxide from power station chimneys is one of the culprits. Another is said by some scientists to be nitrous oxides in car exhausts.

A definite link between car exhausts and dead trees has yet to be established, but motor traffic cannot be absolved of blame yet either.

Car exhaust fumes contain nitrous oxides, sulphur dioxide, carbon monoxide, unburnt hydrocarbons, soot and lead (as long as motor fuel is still allowed to contain 0.15 grams of lead per litre to prevent knocking).

They are all substances that are harmful to man and the environment. The other chemical compounds traffic releases into the atmosphere are harmless at their present levels, scientists say.

But perhaps it would be truer to say there is no conclusive evidence to the contrary.

Carbon monoxide is generated in domestic heating installations and by heavy industry as well as by truck and car engines.

It is to blame for smog. In cities with busy traffic the carbon monoxide count can be as high as 60 milligrams per cubic metre in the daytime.

That is a level the health authorities are no longer prepared to certify as being no danger to health.

Inhalation of carbon monoxide blocks the intake of oxygen to the blood and can cause headaches, sickness, asphyxiation and even death.

It is a particular serious health hazard for people with heart and circulation trouble. But it does no damage to plants.

Bonn's decision to take the lead in Europe and insist on lead-free fuel for new cars (and clean-air exhausts) from 1986 is accepted in the Common Market as a legitimate move taken in self-defence.

President Mitterrand of France is reputed to have encouraged Chancellor Kohl to grasp the initiative.

Bonn is in favour of a uniform grade of lead-free fuel (and not super and premium grades), as in the United States. Consideration is even being given to reassessing road tax on motor vehicles.

In America clean air regulations have been in force for nearly a decade, yet only about 40 per cent of cars have so far been converted to lead-free fuel.

In Germany the authorities feel they cannot afford to let matters slide for this length of time.

In Bavaria's dying forests Carl-Dieter Spranger, state secretary at the Bonn Interior Ministry, outlined to his foreign guests a catalogue of measures aimed at sparing the trees.

Forest-owners are increasingly being urged to take action, but they are at a loss how to deal with the problem. The chemical industry hopes to make a handsome profit from sales of fertiliser. But scientists and forestry officials

German forests worst hit by acid rain

Car exhausts also pump 650,000 tons of unburnt hydrocarbons into the atmosphere yearly in the Federal Republic of Germany.

One of these compounds, benzole, is a toxic carcinogen. Long-term exposure to even minute doses of benzole can lead to changes in the blood make-up and even cause leukaemia.

Lead may improve the performance of low-octane fuel in an engine with a high compression ratio, but it is definitely a health hazard.

It settles on the ground and finds its way into the blood via the food cycle. The blood count and nervous system can suffer damage if the body absorbs substantial amounts of lead.

At the present level of lead pollution only bus drivers or police officers on traffic duty who constantly inhale exhaust fumes are in immediate danger.

Even they seldom have an above-average lead count in their blood. But some doctors are worried that lead in city air could harm children and embryos in the womb.

Here too, conclusive research findings have yet to be published.

For some time the legal amount of lead in motor fuel has been regularly reduced in the European Community, with Germany enforcing the strictest limits.

There are ceilings for other toxins in exhaust fumes too, although the Environmental Protection Agency in West Berlin is critical of the fact that only few cars are tested to make sure they comply with the regulations.

feel it would be absurd to treat forest as an eco-system to which to prove a fatal dose of fertiliser.

The woods have laboriously adapted in acclimatising themselves to acid soil, and what good can it do when trees are no longer taking or retaining nutrient?

Fertiliser might arguably be when sparingly applied to plots which saplings are being grown in of reforestation, always assuming it will still grow.

Hopes of giving dying woods a new lease of life by spraying them with a protective layer of lime are certainly not based on reality.

That leaves the possibility of up environmental legislation on the ink has hardly had time to dry. Suggestions of this kind are proposed by Franz Josef Strauss, could undoubtedly be justified, ground that a catastrophe needs to be averted.

There is clearly no point in waiting until legislation has been proved fully effective. Above all, there must be no exceptions permitted.

The catalogue of measures proposed by the Interior Ministry proposals involving fiscal measures, there are no official plans yet to impose a sulphur levy as demanded by Hesse.

But this state of affairs could change after the state assembly elections in September.

Martin Lohr
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 29 July 1983)

Exhaust fumes are checked at the two-year roadworthiness tests of motor vehicles, but readings of monoxide only are taken.

German motor manufacturers most of their models have a much cleaner air performance than those on which Bonn insists.

But the legal limits have long been in keeping with the latest findings. They date back to 1970 when people were less environmentally conscious than they are today.

In 1972 Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who was then Bonn Interior Minister, did not want to trail behind the States and Japan.

In both countries strict emissions regulations had been issued for both cars and industrial polluters. Smog in Los Angeles and Tokyo had prompted action indispensable.

Unburnt hydrocarbons and carbon monoxide in car exhausts were particularly dangerous, Genscher announced that the two both had to be reduced in the long by 90 per cent.

Motor manufacturers put their research divisions to work and long new cars were designed with cleaner exhausts on both counts.

But in the mid-1970s there were unexpected repercussions. The engines designed to reduce the amount of unburnt hydrocarbons produced more nitrous oxides instead.

They were toxins that had not been taken seriously. Not until the deaths began to be connected with it was it decided to introduce exhaust catalysts as in the USA and Japan.

In new cars they are claimed to reduce the output of hydrocarbons, carbon monoxide and nitrous oxides.

Ironing Machine
(Die Zeit, 29 July 1983)

THE ARTS

Erich Heckel and the Brücke connection

Exhibitions to mark Erich Heckel's 70th birthday are being held in the Federal Republic of Germany in the second half of this year.

Heckel could hardly be more convincingly of how alive his work remains. He was a forerunner of modern art again are certainly not based on reality.

That leaves the possibility of up environmental legislation on the ink has hardly had time to dry. Suggestions of this kind are proposed by Franz Josef Strauss, could undoubtedly be justified, ground that a catastrophe needs to be averted.

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Ironing Machine
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four woodcuts with their variety of contrast, especially his variations on the theme of model Fränzi, are among the highlights of graphic art by the Brücke group.

Heckel preferred people and nature as subjects. He painted people full of unconstrained joie de vivre, initially in wild colour and with spontaneous verve, later composed in a more controlled manner.

His Reclining Girl of 1909 is a good example, but he was also capable of painting psychologically more profound portrayals of problematic characters, such as his Two Men at a Table, 1912, based on Dostoyevsky, or his Woman Convalescent triptych of 1913.

Throughout his life he was fascinated by the circus. He also felt close ties with nature, as expressed in his paintings of the Moritzburg ponds and the many landscapes he painted at, for instance, Dangast on the North Sea coast.

His Glassy Day, 1913, is a masterpiece in which, as in Feininger's work, water, the sky and the clouds are combined in crystalline forms.

The landscapes most clearly illustrate the lyrical, romantic side of Heckel's nature. He is generally felt to be the most contemplative, if not the most important Brücke artist.

In his later years he painted many landscapes in Hemmenhofen on Lake Constance. They no longer testify to the ecstasy of his early period.

There are no more violent changes of nature, just light tones and the magic of light. Was his power as an artist in decline or was it the serene, detached wisdom of old age?

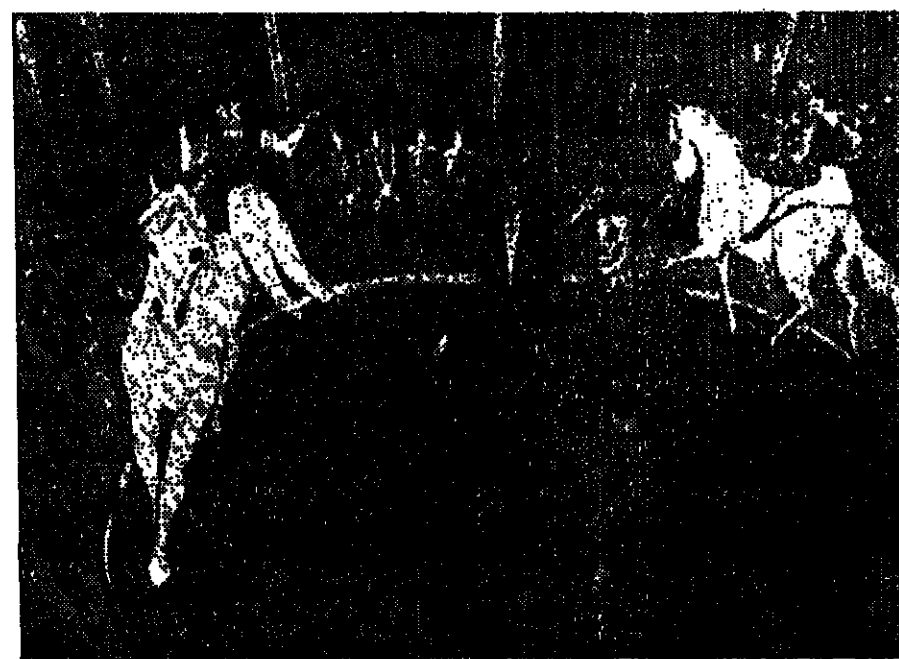
In the Third Reich over 700 of his paintings were banned from German museums. After the war he was appointed to a chair at the Karlsruhe college of art and made a member of the Order of Merit.

These and other honours were bestowed on him to make partial amends. He died on 27 January 1970 aged 86.

Rudolf Lange
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 30 July 1983)



A small example: Richard Hess 'David and Goliath'



Erich Heckel's 'White Horse', 1921.

(Photos: catalogue)

Small sculpture: something a little more intimate

Fellbach, near Stuttgart, is holding its second triennale of small sculpture. It is an experiment that has proved popular with artists and the public alike.

So Fellbach can fairly claim to have filled a gap in the market and a gap in terms of information.

Artists have to earn a living and sculptors arguably have the hardest time of all. Architects nowadays provide them with little to do, while monuments are not in much demand.

No-one these days, apart, that is, from committed art-lovers and collectors, has small works of sculpture around the home.

Yet in many ways small sculpture could help to make friends again for the larger variety. Its role is similar to that of graphics in relation to painting.

It doesn't keep the onlooker at a distance in the way that large sculpture does; it attracts him and cries out for personal attention.

It needs to be handled and, let's face it, loved unaffectedly and without constraint.

Small sculpture is subject to prejudice about which something must be done. It dates back to an era in which

small sculpture was taken to mean large sculpture in miniature and suspected of being kitsch.

This is where the Fellbach triennale has a part to play in dispelling prejudice. In principle, size is of no import in art. An Ottonian miniature can be as significant as a mural. A Tanagra figurine can be as monumental as a statue. "A sculpture," says Henry Moore, "can be many times life size yet be felt to be on the small side. "A small sculpture with a big idea behind it can convey a feeling of being gigantic and monumental." To what extent does the

work on exhibit in Fellbach bear out this idea? There are over 300 exhibits, not all of which can be classified as sculpture, so there are bound to be differences in quality.

Only work done over the past three years is on show. Foreign sculptors have been invited to take part this time: Dutch and Polish.

This is to be a regular feature of the triennale in future, with work being exhibited from two foreign countries, one in Western, one in Eastern Europe.

There are 74 exhibits by 16 Polish artists on show, and 50 works by 14 Dutch artists. So the 204 exhibits by 98 German artists are generously displayed.

In styles and topics there are few differences between German and foreign exhibits. Small sculpture is international in appearance and technique.

It uses and combines a wide range of materials, and that distinguishes it from traditional small sculpture.

Bronze and cement; asbestos, rubber, glass, wood, brass, marble, iron and steel, ceramics, leather and all manner of synthetic materials are combined to produce the most varied designs and structures.

Susanne Frick, for instance, puts a terracotta figurine of a naturalistic-looking woman inside a small glass box and calls the result Bus Stop.

Edward Lazikowski puts together imaginative structures made of wood, canvas and pieces of string.

Uli Lamp makes clothes out of wood, while the electronic wire constructions of Peter Vogel start to play music when you get anywhere near them.

It may generally be said that work representing figures and objects bear witness to more "inner monumentality" than abstract objects.

The work of Richard Hess, Lothar Fischer, Rudolf Daudert, Adam Myjak, Barbara Falender and Jacek Walos come in the first category.

Abstract work, which performs small sculpture's equally important ornamental function, is represented by the exhibits of Erich Hauser, Uli Pohl, Renate Hoffelt, K. H. Franke and Hans Geipel.

Yet both are frequently no more than miniaturised repetitions of larger objects, and that is not necessarily the point of small sculpture.

Eo Plunien

(Die Welt, 20 July 1983)

■ OPERA

Bayreuth boos for Briton's version of Wagner's 'Ring'

The first three parts of the *Ring der Nibelungen* earned some applause at the Bayreuth Wagner Festival, but the *Götterdämmerung* finale ended with massive boos and applause.

Since the director, Sir Peter Hall, did not take the curtain call until after the *Götterdämmerung*, he had to bear the brunt of the pent-up disenchantment.

While Wagnerians paid enthusiastic tribute to conductor Sir Georg Solti's debut in Bayreuth, Sir Peter and designer William Dudley became the butts of the audience's outrage.

The quality differences of the staging as a whole matched the public's reaction.

The direction was so much worse than the music impossible to speak of a cohesive unit.

This quality gap is surprising because Sir Peter and Sir Georg have always regarded themselves as a team. They had agreed to abide by the conductor's intentions and there had apparently never been any problems on that score.

In a press conference after *Siegfried*, the conductor told newsmen that "Sir Peter is not my puppet."

Even so, the chasm between the two components, music and staging, is wider than ever before in the 32-year history of the "new" Bayreuth.

The asset side of the lopsided balance sheet: Sir Georg Solti did not only bring world format to Bayreuth — as demonstrated in *Götterdämmerung* — but he is also a conductor with a Wagner obsession.

In his decades of conducting Wagner he has familiarised himself with every detail and, what's more, he loves the romantic beauty and dramatic impact of this music.

In *Götterdämmerung* it was again the roaring passions in the deadly maze of guilt and destiny that Solti instilled with life in a mythological marathon: the underhanded intrigues of the power-hungry Nibelung son Hagen; the betrayed blood brotherhood of Gunther and Siegfried; the betrayal of love and faith; the sinister murder in the Odenwald; the shameful end of *Götter* magnificence and pride; the whispering murmur of runes.

Solti is a thoroughbred musician, is both sensitive and vehement in setting off such theatrical fireworks of emotions.

These fireworks of emotions reach their climax in *Die Walküre*, making a superlative in *Götterdämmerung* impossible.

This shows the shortcomings of Solti's interpretation: those who plunge into the depths of sensuality must exhaust themselves sooner than those who think in terms of the intellectual context.

Sir Georg Solti conducted four magnificent operas, loosely linked by a colourful music mosaic.

The intellectual structure of the tetralogy, its architecture, world theatre perspective and even its demonical mythology barely revealed themselves in his interpretation.

It was thus not only the staging that fell short of doing justice to the tragic aspects of The Ring.

And even the orchestra conducted by Sir Georg only skirted the essence with its brilliant music.

As a comparison: The intimate despair at Siegfried's funeral procession in Pierre Boulez's version and the nearness to death of this music when conducted by Karl Böhm. And under Knappertbusch the audience could feel and distil a universal tragedy from this death march.

Under Solti, the victoriously pathetic wails sounded like something dating back to a time Bayreuth would rather forget.



In the eye of the storm: From left Sir Peter Hall, Sir Georg Solti, William Dudley (Photo: Klaus)

Solti and Hall admit that their *Ring* is far from complete; they say that they will work on it in the years to come.

Actually, Hall should begin right away because what he presented in Bayreuth were no more than hints.

Only some of the pictures seen in the four *Ring* evenings had firm contours; everything else was obscured by the wafting clouds Hall made such ample use of in every scene.

In *Götterdämmerung* he cut the second act into something akin to a Western set with wooden stairs, and the three naked Rhine maidens were something akin to extras in *Glaube und Schönheit*.

Was this supposed to be a definition of romanticism? The vision of a romantic opera the team had in mind was most easily realised in those parts where Solti's musical opulence was carried by powerful voices.

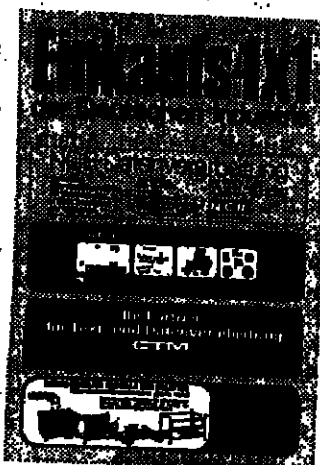


'Götterdämmerung', from Sir Peter Hall's 'Ring der Nibelungen'.

(Photo: Festspiele Bayreuth)

(Köln: Stadt-Anzeiger, 2 Aug.)

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MEDICINE

Studies reveal that unemployment can lead to an early grave

British studies suggest that unemployment is a health risk. Deaths within one or two years of a counting into recession.

British delegate, Dr Farrow, told the World Congress on Psychosomatics during the studies showed that the rate of unemployment varied.

People who worked solely to earn money were affected far less than people identified with their jobs.

However, even those who worked only for money did regard their work as a health risk.

Unemployment broke up the day, prolonged the opportunity of making personal contacts and helped social status.

The consequences to health when all these factors were removed could be serious.

The congress was told about psychosomatic disorders connected with unemployment: increased tobacco and alcohol consumption, depression with suicidal tendencies, and psychosomatic problems such as insomnia, headaches, skin diseases and asthma. Wives and children also became more prone to health problems.

Dr Farrow said the mere fear of losing a job could impose a major psychological strain. This made a rise in coronary disorders likely among older workers.

He stressed that poor social and economic living conditions rank among the most important risk factors. Unemployment aggravates these conditions still further.

He suggested, however, that economic aspects are not the only ones to pose a hazard.

Dr Farrow said the mere fear of losing a job could impose a major psychological strain. This made a rise in coronary disorders likely among older workers.

But this had not yet been properly researched, and even completed studies on the interplay of unemployment and disease were not yet conclusive due to methodological difficulties.

This was mainly due to the fact that it was difficult to pinpoint unemployment as the actual cause of a particular disorder. But there was much to indicate that joblessness played an important role.



Another long-term study involving one per cent of the population of England and Wales showed that mortality among jobless who were not dismissed due to illness was 50 per cent higher than among the rest of the population. The deaths were attributed to a wide range of diseases.

This suggests that there is some truth to the old truism: the nature of the sickness is less important than who has it, Professor Aitken of Edinburgh told the congress.

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Plan to get workers off the bottle and back to work

company doctor, a member of the personnel department, a rehabilitation specialist of the health insurance and a member of the public relations department.

An information campaign on alcoholism was launched and the staff were told what the company intended to do about it.

Preventive information is one of the pillars of the Schering project. The other pillar is to offer help instead of punishment.

The workshop has clear-cut views on how to deal with the alcohol problem: it thinks little of the theory that alcoholics must learn to drink in a "controlled way" (neither does the German Anti-Addiction Centre).

The workshop thinks that anybody who becomes dependent on alcohol will be at lifelong risk even after drying out. Drinking in moderation only prolongs the agony, the workshop says.

The patient must be made to understand his problem, and that meant realising that even the smallest slip could lead to a relapse.

Knowing that alcoholics were likely to put up stiff resistance, it was therefore necessary to exert "constructive pressure."

In practical terms, this meant talking

This transpired not only from day-to-day practical experience with the frame of mind of those who were genuinely looking for work and get turned down time and again over many months; it also transpired from the stress theory whereby this type of frustration posed a major health hazard.

But stress in itself did not cause sickness, as Professor Steinbach of Bonn recently told a German Medical Association congress in Montecatini Terme. He suggested that "stress" is a widespread bad term with a negative connotation. People called everything they didn't like "stress".

But when Hans Selye introduced "stress" as a medical term, he intended this to mean any psychological and physical emergency reaction to a challenge that enables man to perform beyond normal. What he meant was therefore something positive: top performance in sport, exams or a challenging but satisfying job.

This positive response to stress must be seen in a different light than the negative variety regarding the biochemical effects on the human organism, medical sociologist Professor Siegrist told the Hamburg meeting.

He cited the close link between dissatisfaction at work or joblessness and cardiovascular disorders.

In 1977, Hans Schaefer and Maria Blohmke pointed to the interplay between dissatisfaction at work and coronary disorders in their book *Herzkrank durch psychosozialen Stress* (Coronary Disease through psycho-social Stress).

Professor Siegrist cited unloved work

or work below one's own ability as prime examples of negative stress.

In such situations, the human body's biochemical reactions were different from those in situations of "normal" stress.

A person who thought that he could cope with a threat or a challenge reacted with more alertness, a heightened fighting spirit and sometimes anger and aggressiveness.

This had to do with an activation of the involuntary nervous system and, as a result, increased output of the hormone catecholamin.

On the other hand, people who found themselves defenceless in the face of a threat — especially the threat to social status — were marked by an increased production of not only catecholamin but cortisol as well.

This created a hormonal imbalance in the body which, if it kept recurring, could adversely affect the cardiovascular system. Blood pressure rose, the pulse rate quickened, the fat metabolism speeded up and the blood became more viscous.

Animal experiments had shown a number of additional changes that contributed to arteriosclerosis and so increased the risk of a heart attack.

These "bio-psycho-social mechanisms" are only just beginning to be researched, Professor Siegrist told the meeting.

He called for long-term studies that would show how emotional reactions (as in the case of frustrated efforts to find work and social decline) upset the hormonal balance and eventually led to organic illness.

A study he and his team made, involving people who had suffered heart attacks, showed that more than 20 per cent of them were exposed to such negative stress situations — more than twice as many as in a control group of healthy people.

Rosemarie Stein

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 29 July 1983)

If there is no sign of improvement, tougher action is taken.

For instance, a doctor's certificate might be demanded for every day's absence due to "illness" (a certificate is usually needed only for absences of more than three days).

Advantages such as flexible working hours and splitting up holidays might be withdrawn.

The workshop does not think that a general alcohol ban can be enforced. It doubts in any case that it would do more good than an information campaign. But it does provide for individual bans on drinking in problem cases.

The company can also make the alcoholic agree to join a self-help group or undergo therapy within or outside the company (on full pay and with a job guarantee provided he can prove attendance). If none of this helps, the company can cut his or her pay.

The works council, whose function it is to act as the staff advocate, has to do a fair bit or rethinking before agreeing that even a dismissal with a re-employment clause could help the alcoholic.

Journalists were told at a press conference it would be illusory to hope that such measures might stop drinking at work.

But the positive experience with the Schering model (other German companies are want to adopt it) has convinced the initiators that they are on the right track.

Justin Westhoff

(Der Tagesspiegel, 22 July 1983)

